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ADDRESS
BY
ALLEN W. DULLES
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
TO
THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
22 AUGUST 1960

I am deeply grateful to you for your action in awarding to me the Veterans of Foreign Wars - Bernard Baruch Gold Medal, an award given because you have judged that the recipient has made a contribution to world peace and to American security.

As a young man at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, over 40 years ago, I had my first opportunity to know and to appreciate Bernard Baruch, an American who himself over the years has made an outstanding contribution to these great aims. I feel honored to be among the privileged few to whom you have given this award which bears the name of your organization and that of Bernard Baruch whom we salute as he passes his 90th birthday.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars have worked for more than 50 years in promoting patriotic objectives and in extending the institutions of American freedom. It is natural that you should devote special attention to the twin objectives of world peace and American security.

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In your announcement of this evening's meeting and of your speaker tonight, you describe me as a man who knows more about Communist techniques and intrigue than any man in the world.

This is a bold assertion. It would be immodest of me to claim that it is true.

But I do admit that I have devoted many years of my life to the study of Communist theory and practice, and during the last ten years since I have been with the Central Intelligence Agency, a mountain of hard evidence on Communist intrigue has passed over my desk.

The Communists have a blueprint for conquest. It is not a rigid plan detailing exactly when and where every nail will be driven. It is, rather, a flexible plan permitting the Communists to adjust realistically to changing conditions in the world. In any event, they think they know what the edifice of the future will look like. It is a Communist house in which they say our grandchildren will all live.

Their ambitions are not those inherited from the old Czarist regime. They seek much more than access to warm water ports and to extend their national boundaries. They are aiming at nothing less than domination of the world.

The United States is today their major target. And yet, though I believe this is patently demonstrable, there is a dangerously complacent attitude among many people in our Country. Too many, motivated by wishful thinking, grasp at every Soviet whim, - their every call for coexistence, their grandiose and impracticable schemes for universal disarmament and emotional pleas to ban the bomb.

Too many jump to the conclusion that the Communist leaders have changed their spots, and that they really want to settle down to live in peace with us.

All our past relations with the Communists belie any such interpretation. Their plans, their statements, and their actions show that they have no real faith in coexistence.

It is well to look at the record.

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The origins of the Communist movement go back to Marx and the Manifesto of 1848. But, we have had only about 40 years experience in a world where Communist principles controlled the actions of the leaders of a major power with great human and material resources.

Then for a decade or more after the Communist revolution of 1917, the power of the Soviet leaders was limited. They were occupied with consolidating the Communist position inside Russia itself and applying Communist theory to the practical task of ruling the peoples within the U.S.S.R. who have never been given the opportunity to choose for themselves.

I was a member of the American delegation to the Paris Conference in 1919 when the peace to end World War I was being negotiated. Then the Communist movement was regarded as a nuisance, but not as a serious threat outside of the borders of the U.S.S.R. Even then, however, Lenin was preaching the doctrine of worldwide Communism. He predicted an eventual clash between the Communist world and the Free World -- or the

capitalist world as he chose to call it -- the eventual collapse of capitalism and the fratricidal struggles among capitalist countries.

The outbreak of World War II seemed to bear out the accuracy of this last prediction. However, the Soviet Union, despite its effort to stand aside, - as, for example, through the disgraceful agreement with Hitler for the partition of Poland, - was eventually attacked and drawn into the conflict.

Stalin sought and received the maximum of aid from us in the common fight against Hitler, but he never cooperated fully during World War II. As the war drew toward a close, Moscow's main preoccupation was preparing the ground for Communist takeover of the greatest possible areas in Central Europe and in the Far East rather than in bringing the war to a quick conclusion.

The most tragic example of this was when Soviet armies sat idly by on the outskirts of Warsaw and allowed the bitter struggle between the Poles and the Nazi to decimate the leaders of the Polish resistance.

Communist actions in these closing days of the war revealed that they had not abandoned their long-term objectives. While this began to alert us to Communist objectives, we were still far too slow in realizing the full implications of their policy.

For the second time in recent history, we have had an antagonist tell us in advance both by word and by action what he proposes to do. Hitler in "Mein Kampf" gave the world a clear picture of his intentions. We paid little attention to it until too late and he had moved on to the attack.

We cannot afford to ignore the present and even more precise warnings which the Communists have been giving us.

Over the past 15 years since the end of World War II, we have had many an opportunity to learn the lessons of Communist purposes, particularly during the days which immediately preceded and followed the loss of mainland China to Communism.

During these years Stalin's policy of military pressure and adventurism continued. He probed our resistance and our determination in Greece and Turkey and Iran, at Berlin during the days of the blockade and the airlift, and, in league with the Chinese Communists, in Korea. We held the line against this type of Communist attack, and we learned a great deal about Communist techniques.

Then, in 1955, Khrushchev took over the effective leadership of the Soviet Union. He had the same objectives, the same philosophy of the worldwide mission of Communism as his predecessors, but he proposed different techniques to accomplish these objectives.

As soon as he had firmly consolidated his position, Khrushchev proceeded to denounce Stalin and all his works. He repudiated Stalinist methods and in effect asked the rest of the world to forget the tyranny and the cruelty of Stalin in domestic affairs and his aggressive foreign policy in threatening the Free World from Berlin to Korea.

Khrushchev let his people know that he was shocked that, during a time when the United States had overwhelming superiority in nuclear power, Stalin had engaged in dangerous foreign adventures. In a

thoroughgoing repudiation of Stalin's policies, Khrushchev tried to delude us into believing that a new era was at hand.

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What are the basic elements of Khrushchev's present policy?

First of all, he proposes to build up Soviet military might based on ballistic missiles. His main target has always been the United States. Intercontinental missiles would give him an effective weapon for direct attack on the United States. During the missile build-up, he will maintain an intercontinental threat with his bomber forces.

Second, Khrushchev proposes to build up Soviet industry, the base of Soviet military power, by completing the ambitious seven-year plan which covers the period through 1965. This will still leave him well behind the United States in overall industrial production. But Khrushchev believes that he can devote to military and world power aims a far greater percentage of his industrial production than we are likely to do. He expects to satisfy his people with a far more modest share of the consumer goods and luxuries that have seemingly become for us so essential a part of our own much higher living standard. Whether he will succeed in deluding his people, who today have far greater knowledge of the outside world than during Stalin's days, remains to be seen.

Third. He is supporting all elements of extreme, rabid, nationalism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the XXI Party Congress held in February 1959, as well-documented reports in our hands establish, the leaders of Communist parties from these areas were specifically instructed

to play down the link with Moscow and with the Communist movement and to stress nationalism and hostility to the nations of the non-communist bloc, the United States in particular. He is working for chaos in countries from Cuba to the Congo. And chaos breeds Communism.

Fourth. He is targetting economic and technical aid to certain critical countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America where the Communists believe they can make the most headway.

Fifth. Khrushchev has put into high gear his worldwide subversive apparatus consisting of local Communist parties, underground and overt, Communist fronts, and all the espionage and agitprop assets of Moscow and its satellite allies. This apparatus is very active today from Cuba to Central Africa and to Southeast Asia, and indeed throughout the world.

Sixth. Khrushchev is directing the greatest propaganda machine the world has ever known. One voice of Moscow goes abroad to try to seduce the newly-emerging countries by citing the Soviet example of rapid industrial and military growth and of the aid which awaits them if they turn to Moscow. Behind the Iron Curtain, quite another voice is aimed at the people of the Communist Bloc to reassure them that all is going well.

And Seventh. The Kremlin is jealously guarding the physical security of great areas of the Soviet Union where it is building up in secrecy its formidable military weapons. The Soviets have repeatedly refused to accept a meaningful form of inspection, - the best guarantee that disarmament can be honest.

To protect their security the spy phobia is being exploited by the Soviets with attacks on our planes and harassments of our tourists. Well-publicized trials and the imprisonment of our RB-47 airmen are all calculated in Khrushchev's view to bring pressures to bear to help preserve the secrecy of military preparations.

By these tactics Khrushchev hopes to prevent the Free World from gaining the knowledge which may be essential to our own security. Behind this shield, rejecting the President's proposals for adequate inspection and open skies, the Kremlin believes that it is free to prepare for a surprise attack on the Free World in relative security.

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This, in brief, is Khrushchev's program. It is vigorously supported by Communist China despite growing ideological differences and political disputes between the two on the home front. These are the tactics which Khrushchev is using to help along what he describes as the inevitable trend of history; the victory of Communism.

This is how he explained his often quoted phrase, "We will bury you," when he was talking to the National Press Club in Washington last September:

Social systems change as society develops.

There was the feudal system. It was superseded by capitalism.

Capitalism was more progressive than feudalism. Capitalism created better conditions than feudalism for the development of the productive forces.

But capitalism engendered irreconcilable contradictions.

Every system gives birth to its successors. Capitalism, as Marx, Engels and Lenin have proved, will be succeeded by communism.

In saying this, Khrushchev would have us believe that this evolution to communism will be a peaceful, painless process if only we will let him carry out his many-sided program to "bury us."

I am convinced that we can do far more to meet the threat if the people of this country truly understand the nature and purposes of communism; its objectives; and the means the Communist leaders are using to accomplish their aims.

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For too long, and by too many, subversive communism has been viewed as just another international danger like those which we have faced before

from the ambitions of malevolent dictators or the thrusts for power by foreign potentates and rulers. We have assumed that if we remain strong at home, the danger will in time disappear.

We are still too prone to believe that the Communist movement is no more than an international conspiracy of evil men, interested solely in their own power. If this were true, I should feel more easy in my mind. A conspiracy can be defeated by effective police work. The citizen understands this, and will support it.

But the situation is not that simple. The threat is far greater, and the defense far more difficult.

The threat is greater, first, because many Communists are not mere conspirators but fanatically dedicated men. True, there are innumerable time-servers in the movement, and many who are corrupt, self-interested, or ineffective. True also, there are indications that revolutionary fervor is diminishing in some important circles in the USSR, and giving way to more practical considerations.

Nevertheless, throughout the world there are still thousands of dangerously rabid Communists. Many of them believe that they are working for the progress of mankind, - as they see it. Many of them -- perhaps most of them -- are willing to sacrifice themselves to the cause. They are ready to work and struggle with little material reward, and with comparatively little of the sense of power which their bosses may enjoy. Many of them are highly trained and extremely competent. We have to deal not with mere conspiracy, but with genuine revolutionary fervor.

These men disseminate ideas, and ideas must be met by sounder and more satisfying ideals, not merely by force.

The threat is greater than mere conspiracy, secondly, because the Communists seem to offer what much of the world -- the underdeveloped world particularly -- is striving for. The underdeveloped countries are seized with a passion for rapid economic growth and social advance.

We know from history, and from our own experience, that economic growth is not achieved easily. It involves discipline, self-sacrifice and a great deal of hard work. The Soviets promise to deliver it on a platter.

Moreover, Communists know the techniques for enforcing the most ruthless discipline upon their own and other peoples. They are masters of organization. Also, as they have demonstrated their ability to achieve rapid economic growth, and quickly to develop national power, they can advertise their accomplishments. Peoples in the underdeveloped countries tend to see only the achievements of Communism; they overlook its cost in terms of human dignity and political freedom.

If we could offer a prospect of economic development without pain or sacrifice, we should doubtless triumph fairly easily over the Communist adversary in underdeveloped countries. But we cannot do so. We know better than to try to do so. We refrain from making false promises. The Communists have no such inhibitions.

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We as a people have never given to the study of Communism, as I have described it, the depth and breadth of effort sufficient to understand it

adequately and to gird to meet it. It can not be done merely by the setting up of new machinery of government or the creating of a Cold War Executive, or such measures.

We need far and wide in this country more education on the whole history of the communist movement.

In our schools and colleges we can find many courses in ancient history, in philosophy, courses on the great movements of the past, the conquests of ancient times from Alexander the Great to Napoleon. Courses on Communist theory and practices are few and far between.

Yet, today we are face to face with a revolution which since 1917 has absorbed almost a billion people; a movement which boasts blatantly and openly that it will destroy us and all the institutions which we hold essential to our freedom and to our growth, spiritually and materially.

There is a vast body of readily available and useful literature descriptive of communist policies, ambitions and successes. Our press, radio and television are doing a fine job in current reporting and analysis. There are ample biographies of Communist leaders and plenty of case histories of their actions in Berlin, Korea, and Hungary. We know a great deal, and can tell a great deal, about the secret apparatus which has promoted its revolution.

By and large, however, in our educational institutions, except in the graduate field or in specialized schools and seminars, these subjects are not generally taught.

I have reviewed the curricula of many of our universities and colleges, and, despite a considerable advance in recent years, our students are not

yet afforded a broad opportunity to gain the essential background knowledge of Communist history and policy. And we should start this education in our secondary schools.

It is only the very few who have read about Marx, the titular father of the system. Here was one of the meanest, least admirable characters in his relations with other human beings who ever existed. He was an unoriginal theoretical thinker. His economic writings were outmoded even when they appeared. Even the Communists themselves are beginning to admit that he is not a completely reliable guide for political action.

Such an educational program should not be approached in any spirit of propaganda or trying to "make a case" or sell a thesis. The history of the communism movement should be taught objectively, recognizing, as appropriate, scientific, technical, and other accomplishments of the peoples who have been absorbed by it.

We should not be afraid to teach the subject. A history of communism and of all its works would bear its own indictment of the system.

Let the facts speak for themselves.

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There is a real urgency to build up our knowledge on the entire background of the Communist thrust against our civilization.

During the years immediately ahead it seems more likely that the immediate danger we will be facing, and on a worldwide basis, will be Communist political, economic and subversive action and penetration; not a hot or nuclear war.

In general, we and the other peoples in the Free World have a relatively good understanding of the nature of the Soviet military threat. In this country a major effort in money, manpower and research has been and is being devoted to meet it. People may differ here and there whether it is adequate but certainly it is massive and there is broad agreement that no effort should be spared in the military sector. We must maintain our military strength. I believe we will do so.

The Soviet Union today has a healthy respect for our military and retaliatory power and we must see to it that they continue to have this respect. They realize that the devastation they would receive in the event of nuclear war would be unacceptable.

Hence, I conclude that the Soviet are not now planning primarily for military attack, although they will use the military threat, they will rattle their ballistic missiles and may exercise military pressure on the periphery of the Communist Bloc.

Given adequate defense on our part, the military threat is not our most immediate pressing danger. Where then does the danger to us lie? One thing is sure: we must conclude, without peradventure of a doubt, that the Communists will move against us on every front where they consider action to be effective and for the time being they will move primarily on the "short of war" fronts.

Are we ready, if instead of attacking us militarily, Khrushchev should direct his major thrust to subverting other countries in the Free World by secret, disguised and undercover means?

By blackmailing the leaders in the newly emerging, the shaky countries, to follow his lead.

By luring them with promises, and with the actual delivery, of large quantities of arms and economic aid and of considerable quantities of flashy but sometimes rather second-rate goods and equipment; and of the services of many skilled technicians.

By taking control of revolutions which may have started out with sound motives, but which have been perverted and turned from their original course into the Communist pattern.

In this way he will try to turn into Communist or communizing tools the regimes in many countries which today are free, but which tomorrow, under the pressure of Communist techniques might become slave.

Maybe many people in this Country will be taught a new lesson in Communism because Khrushchev, right at our doorstep, is applying his methods and techniques. He is perverting a revolutionary movement which initially had the support of some estimable people but which now is in the throes of a Communist take-over. Cuba is not the only country, though it is the one nearest to us, where such a process is under way.

Are we alerted fully to this kind of danger, and are we prepared to do all that we can to see that this development does not occur in a dozen or more countries elsewhere in the world?

This, today, is the major element of the Soviet scheme for world domination. We must understand it. We must analyze it, and through a well-coordinated program of education and of action, protect ourselves against it.

The people of this country are and will continue to be basically opposed to communism in general. This opposition is based more on instincts than on knowledge. This is not enough. Our people should be sufficiently educated in all of the ramifications of communistic intrigues and its historical background, its purposes and programs adequately to contribute towards an effective answer.

The initiative for new knowledge comes more often from those of us who want to learn than from those who teach. But let us also call on our educators, and on those in authority who have influence over the development of our educational system to begin to expand the realistic teaching of the history and policies of Communism.

We must do this with an eye to the future and to the coming generations who will be living in a world of continuing Communist challenge.

Today, it is relatively easy to get the manpower and the money for the vital needs of military defense. This is as it should be. But it is desperately difficult to get the tools and the funds that the government needs to meet the present and threatening danger of non-military Soviet penetration and subversion; the corruption by communism of vast areas of the Free World.

I hope that your great organization with its high ideals and patriotic membership will help to build up an understanding and an educated public opinion to enable this country effectively to meet this grave danger we face today. This is a cause worthy of the best efforts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

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